BARREN POLICY IN THE CARIBBEAN

Black Power, together with much of the Third World's ideology of which it forms a part, was born and raised in the Caribbean. Jamaica gave Marcus Garvey to the movement; Haiti, Jean Price-Mars and Jacques Roumain; Martinique, Aime Cesaire and Frantz Fanon; Cuba, the poet Nicolas Guillen who, long before Fidel and his friends swept out of the Sierra Madre, imagined black West Indians rising against their oppressors – *Cutting their heads like canestalks, Snick, snick, snick.*

Anti-Canadain demonstrations in Port of Spain should not be viewed copplacently by policy –makers in Ottawa.

These early Caribbean nationalists followed the fate of their fellow blacks abroad as well as at home. The indignities to which Negroes in uniform were uniquely subjected in Canada during World War I (hustled, contrary to King's Regulations, into segregated batmen's units and construction gangs), the outcries among black West Indian Students at McGill and Queen's, they read, marked learned and inwardly digested. The black students of that day had no computer centre on which to wreak vengeance for insults, real or imagined, but their protests were heard back in their home islands. Canadians were hostile, observed the Jamaica Gleaner in October, 1919, "toward people of African descent."

That hostility has been a long time abating. Whether it has abated yet is for each of us to decide– searching for this purpose not immigration records only, but the red pavilion of the heart.

Whatever our heart's desire, our immigration records tell a shameful story. Until well into the 1960s, Canada's policy was racist. Only 1,058 West Indians were admitted in 1956. A decade later, our policy was purged of racism. But it remained discriminatory. Skill rather than skin is now the governing criterion.

It may not be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a black West Indian to enter the Kingdom of Canada under its new point system requiring him to amass a total based on education, training, personal assessment, occupational demand, arranged employment, knowledge of English and French, and the existence of a relative ready and able to help. But it can't be much more difficult. Only 9,245 made it in 1968– a tiny fraction of those who would come if they could. "If the doors were flung open," says Pearnal Charles, a Jamaican labor leader, of his people, "33 per cent to 40 per cent of the able-bodied would leave." Not necessarily for Canada, but for Canada if necessary.

The islands in the sun are 'suffering from claustrophobia. "One out of every three persons in the labour force 15 to 10 years of age is unemployed," the prime minister of Trinidad admits, "and one out of every four of the labour force 20 to 24 years of age ..... We have had an upsurge of the young people calling for 'young power' under the stimulus of international developments." A sign carried by a demonstrator in a Port of Spain street parade puts it more expressively: "The wind of change is blowing through the W.I., and youth power is bound seriously to explode therein."

With the escape hatches of emigration all but battened down, West Indian governments are trying to defuse the explosive of unemployment by developing the labour-intensive tourist industry. To the radicals of the region this cure seems worse than the disease.

It creates, they charge, Caribbean Babylons to which black West Indians have access only as bus-boys and beach-boys. The result may be seen along the north coast of Jamaica from Montego Bay to Ocho Rios – a littoral of affluence adjoining a hinterland of poverty, on which the lush resorts with the north American names (Hilton, Sheraton, Holiday Inn, Playboy Club) enjoy oases of privilege and extraterritoriality unknown since the days of the Shanghai International Settlement. Naive the northern visitor who in such places asks for change in Jamaican currency.

Not in every island does the gap between white and black, rich and poor, North Atlantic and West Indian, yawn so ostentatiously. The Trinidad-Hilton is owned by the state – whatever pride and comfort that may generate among the denizens of Shanty Town. But the gap is widening. A U.S.-U.K. Canadian commission deplored the less conspicuous facilities found in Barbados in 1966: "It seems that the slightly out-of-date air of much of the hotel industry, the lack of up-to-date design and activities, are not attractive to American visitors, but this is much less of a deterrent to Canadian visitors. In view of the relative size of the two markets this situation seems an unfortunate one."

Canadians or Americans – it matters little so long as their currency's hard and their spending's free – are welcomed by West Indian governments. West Indian nationalists may well be less hospitable. What sort of nationalist accepts without distaste the free port bazaars dealing in the expensive delicacies of capitalist production – Sony tape decks, Leica cameras, Wedgewood china Dior perfumes, Rolex watches and other items his yearly income could barely buy – imported from rich nations and sold duty-free to their citizens as a reward for dallying in his native land? Or the seasonal trek of white adventurers (not men only – looking for "a black experience"?

This last pursuit is not the harmless self-regarding act it may at first appear. More than one West Indian politician has expressed concern, if privately, at the ramifications of genital imperialism, about which Black Power has puritanical and punitive things to say; the rhetoric of Malcolm X (banned, along with Carmichael, Cleaver and Gueverra in many of the islands, and in consequence widely read) takes on its hardest edge when speaking of "the white man's raping of the black race's woman." Nations have been founded on a dockyard (Malta), a roulette wheel (Monace), or a post office (San Marino). But no one has built a nation on a brothel; Batista tried and failed.

Out of such pride and torment revolutions come. There is plenty of early warning. In 1961 the Trinidadian author V.S. Naipaul returned after long expatriation; he tells us (and how much more it tells us) that when he first heard the steel bands play again he felt physically ill. Soon after his return Patric Lumumba was killed in Africa. Naipaul witnessed a parade of mourners:

It was an orderly procession made up wholly of Negroes ..... Their banners and placards were anti-white, anti-clerical and pro-African..... I had never before seen any thing like it in Trinidad .....

I thought then that it was a purely local eruption, created by the pressures of local politics. But soon, on the journey I was now getting ready to make in the West Indies I came to see that such eruptions were widespread, and represented feelings coming to the surface throughout the Caribbean: the Negro's rejection of the guilt he has borne for so long; the last, delayed, Spartacan revolt, more radical than Toussaint L'Overture's. the closing of accounts this side of the of the middle passage.

"It's only a small minority." Such is the complacent diagnosis of the sudden outbreak of anti-Canadian demonstrations in the West Indies, forwarded by our man in Port of Spain and repeated reassuringly by our secretary of state for external affairs. It is about as bad a diagnosis as one could get. If foreign policy makers, like physicians, could be sued for malpractice, the makers of our Caribbean policy would have to cough up a bundle. "It's only a small minority" will take its place among unfortunate last words of out times – along with "Surely it can't be loaded."

UNIP POLICY FOR BLACK RECONSTRUCTION

The last two months have been the most important and the most eventful period in the recent political history of Trinidad and Tobago. Whatever our views may be of these events, it is clear that they have brought the public to a very high level of awareness and of expectation and in doing so, have transformed the political possibilities. Clearly a radical programme of reconstruction is now not only necessary but eagerly anticipated by the population. The United National Independence Party presents such a programme concentrated in this instance on those sensitive areas on which recent events have focussed national attention. Further policy statements will, from time to time, indicate the Party's view in respect of those areas not now dealt with.

Our premises are few but important.

First of all, it is manifest that any programme of reconstruction must begin with the objective rehabilitating the lives and the circumstances of the two major races in our society, that is, of necessity, the Black races of Indian and African origin. Special steps will have to be taken to relieve them from the distress to which history and the perpetuation of discrimination and inequality have continued to expose them.

Secondly, the system envisaged must of necessity be a closed system, that is to say, a system characterised by a high degree of regulation and different in essence from the "open", "free enterprise" system which we now operate. One of its most important features will be a deliberate insulation of our environment from the metropolitan influences of taste and industrial technology which was exacerbated and not minimised our social and economic problems.

Thirdly, the system which we propose must have a very high degree of West Indian participation. We will have to turn our attention to a form of Caribbean integration far different from the "bagatelle" futile CARIFTA species now in existence.

Fourthly, popular local participation must be enfouraged in all industries, major as well as minor. As far as the major industries are concerned, the goal is the establishment, now or ultimately, of local ownership and control over the major economic undertakings, that is to say, petroleum, sugar, banking and insurance. With respect to the minor industries, we propose that a decisive step should be the designation of 'growth' industries for the exclusive participation of the small man and woman of the society. The object of this step will be to bring into the arena of ownership and control of our national resources and of the acquisition and exercise of entrepreneurial skills those sections of the population denied of previous participation aind ex]eroemce om tjese areas nu tje imeqia and experience in these areas by the unequal policies of the past.

Fifthly, we envisage also a purposeful attempt at creating new links at the economic, political, cultural and intellectual levels with the Third World as a whole in contrast to our present near exclusive preoccupation with the countries of the North Atlantic.

In sum, our object is a rationalization of the economic resources of our country. Our aim is black reconstruction, which is to say, the greater participation by Black people in all our economic enterprises. We aim also at greater participation by local and indigenous West Indian organizations in the reorganization of our society and of the Caribbean and in the provision of a bountiful and dignified existence for the people of Trinidad and Tobago and the people of the West Indies as a whole.

We recognize the right of our citizens to full and gainful employment. We also the high level of unemployment prevailing in the society over the last decade particularly among the youth and we are of the opinion that nothing but the most fundamental projects can offer a useful and permanent solution to these problems. We anticipate that our proposals in respect of Agriculture, Housing, Petroleum and Education will generate new jobs and opportunities for the unemployed. Specifically with respect to unemployment, however, we propose:

(i) to bring commercial banking under greater control and direction by appropriate legislation with a view to making more funds available for development purposes;

(ii) to desingate specially viable and profitable public enterprise for participation by small and medium size businessmen, the aim being to increase the spread of future entrepreneurial skills in the society;

(iii) to establish a realistic and education system whereby all children of school leaving age would be provided with an education which will render them immediately employable in our society;

(iv) to embark on a massive school building programme which will be financed partly from State funds and partly from parents who can afford to pay. In no case will a child be deprived of the education he deserves;

(v) similarly, to embark on a pro-

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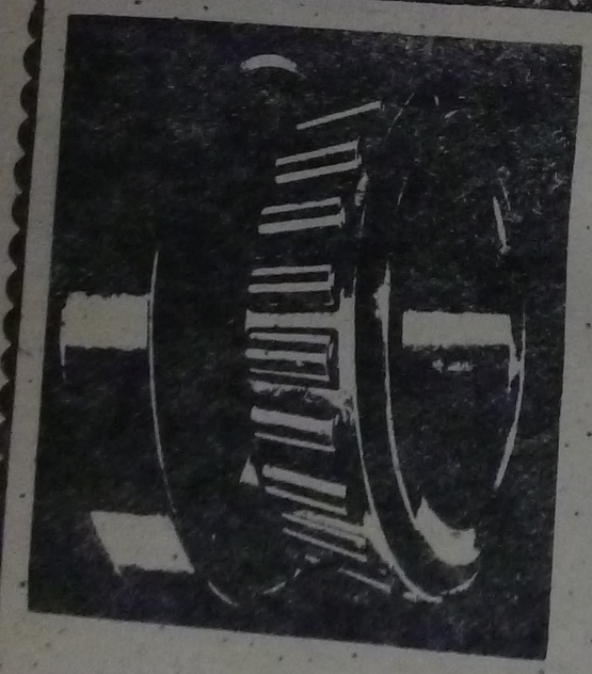

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BALL AND ROLLER BEARINGS

SOLE REPRESENTATIVES AND STOCKISTS

From Page 4

gramme of expansion of the Health Services with the object of creating adequate national services which will be financed partly by the State and partly by payments from those who can afford. Persons with experience in the Voluntary Services such as the Red Cross and the St. John's Ambulance Brigade will be absorbed into the Health Services at appropriate levels;

(vi) the provision of a wider range of public amenities, the aim being to humanize the living conditions of the population and to expand job opportunities.

AGRICULTURE:

Our main purpose is to create a more diversified and rational agricultural economy. We shall do this by:

(i) bringing the sugar industry under local ownership and control;

(ii) the introduction of new export crops by the expansion of market gardening and by the promotion of secondary industries in agriculture as an alternative to traditional export of primary producers;

(iii) the promotion of economic enterprises in agriculture in which ownership is vested in the agricultural workers of the country;

(iv) adopting an active approach to the industry of West Indian agriculture;

(v) establishing an Agricultural Commercial Bank for the purpose of providing finance for economic enterprises in agriculture;

(vi) the promotion of agricultural enterprises operated and controlled by persons with extensive training in agriculture.

PETROLEUM:

As far as the petroleum industry is concerned, it is our intention to work for the ultimate ownership and control of the industry by and in the interest of the people of Trinidad and Tobago. We propose to:

(i) accelerate the training and absorption of local personnel in the most important and sensitive areas of the industry, as, for example, exploration, production, marketing, accounting and top level management;

(ii) negotiate realistic profit sharing arrangements consistent with international precedents and based upon a careful enquiry into returns on capital investment of existing companies;

(iii) ensure that the petroleum industry is reorganized to provide a national complex of petrochemical industries such as household plastics and synthetic fibres;

(iv) work for the establishment of an integrated Caribbean petroleum industry;

(v) vest in the National Oil Company the sole responsibility for the internal distribution and keting of petroleum and petroleum products.

EDUCATION:

It is our view that a varied and integrated education system is one of the causes of chronic unemployment among the young people of our society and we envisage a scheme which will bring more closely together the education of the young and their employment in specific areas at their education. Our aim is a sort of apprenticeship system. We propose that this should be achieved by:

(i) a broadening of the general education curriculum to include basic studies such as languages, mathematics, history, geography, one of the natural sciences or the principles of science in general, plus courses oriented to the area in which students live in order to acquaint them and prepare them for entry into eventual employment;

(ii) the effective age range should be 13 to 24 with the range 13 to 15 being devoted to a general education experience, 15 to 18 being devoted to some kind of skilled training and an education up to the age of 18 being generally compulsory. Students should belong to one of the four following categories: (a) skilled workers; (b) Technicians; (c) specialist technicians and (d) engineers. Categories (c) and (d) will be professional classes;

(iii) the programmes will be implemented through the establishment of (a) full-time technical schools; (b) work-shop type schools with proportionate time spent on work and study, the period of study being divided between "basic" and "oriented" courses. (c) evening programmes to permit the skilled worker to further his education and to a high degree of upward mobility in the system in general, and (d) refresher courses available to all;

(iv) compulsory participation by all major firms and by small firms which qualify by reason of possessing qualified staff and adequate equipment. All firms will have to undertake to employ apprentices to fill vacancies where such apprentices are available.

HOUSING:

We recognize housing as one of the more important areas for serious national activity boty because of the part an expanded housing programme can play in alleviating unemployment and also because of the generally poor state of housing in respect of a large number of the population of our country. We therefore propose:

(i) the institution of a large programme of low-cost housing supported by long-term low-interest morfgages;

(ii) the provision of housing as a necessary social service. Housing will be provided for all through an organized national scheme. Those who wish to, may opt out on conditions to be stated;

(iii) the creation of a large National Inyestment Bank for financing the programme;

(iv) that emphasis should be given to the use of local materials wherever possible;

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But even without this there were dangers enough. CARIFTA had become a very sinsitive political issue in Jamaica, and was in active element in the struggle between Shearer, the Jamaican Prime Minister, and Seago, his Minister of Finance and a serious and persistent contender for the Prime Ministerial position. It was very likely that Shearer who was sympathetic to CARIFTA would participate in the Bank but only if he could do so without paying too high a political cost. If he could participate in the Bank without losing the Prime Ministership he would, if the price was the Prime Ministership he simply would not.

That CARIFTA has survived until now is a triumph not for the good sense or the skill of current West Indian politicians but for their recognition that, as current events are demonstrating, time is not on their side and no longer, increasingly, are the West Indian people. In such circumstances, and in the absence of other success, paper victories had to be scored. CARIFTA was merely one of them.

JOIN
UNIP

POLICE

From page 1

ing is the unesay projection of the number of police guns on display which have not yet been used. And the official response to people in torment is more Police trained in riot control.

The majority of the people has always had for less police protection anyhow. Calls to the Police are immediately heeded in select areas like Ellerslie Park, Federation

BLACK RECON— STRUCTION

From Page 9

(v) that the major industries producing house-building materials should be nationalized;

(vi) that there should be national participation by way of investments in a genuine West Indian Lumber Industry;

(vii) that there should be an accelerated afforestation programme;

(viii) that experimentation should be promoted in the production of new building materials from such commodities like bagasse and pitch.

LAND REFORM:

A serious programme of land reform is inseparable from the reorganization of the society which we envisage. We recognize land as a very precious national asset which ought to be used in the best interests of the community as a whole and accordingly we commit ourselves to the following objectives:

we shall legislate against speculation in land to ensure that every citizen will have an equal opportunity to acquire the land he needs;

(ii) we shall take steps to ensure that maximum use is made of all land and in particular of idle land, lastro and State lands;

(iii) we shall introduce a system of controls with respect to rents and prices which will be established over all building lands;

(iv) we shall establish a Land-holding Tribunal to deal with titles, squatting and with the use, distribution and classification of land.

FROM CROWN POINT TO TOCO
•••
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GRASSRO

hence ineffective as vehicles for changing either form or content in our society. Yet if change must come there is no class better suited to initiate it than this enfeebled middleclass. The reason being that their position is such that the class is already attuned to following their directions without question; they have been accorded as a class, the task of thinking. The mass stands aside and choose which they will follow from amongst the many thoughts of this middle class. The very curious thing about the mechanics of the relationship is that the number of persons from this middleclass supporting any one idea is of little consequence where the choice of the masses is concerned. That the idea comes from middleclass is enough for each idea to be awarded equal legitimacy and availability for choice by the mass.

itimacy and availability
r choice by the mass.

The history of change in our society attest to this analysis. This being so, it becomes clear that the responsibility for change lies with this ineffective, frightened, salaried middleclass. The contradiction inherrent in this situation must be broken. Our frightened ineffective salaried middleclass must find amongst themselves some who are not frightened or ineffective, even though they are salaried and middleclass if the pattern thus far is to have continuing validity. If it is possible that this could happen, we would still have two other dimensions to satisfy. Both the middleclass and the masses must have their priorities of loyalties corrected. It becomes necessary to discuss openly race as a factor in politics and the domination of politics on every aspect of our national life.

It becomes necessary to examine the source of the present racial conflict.

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